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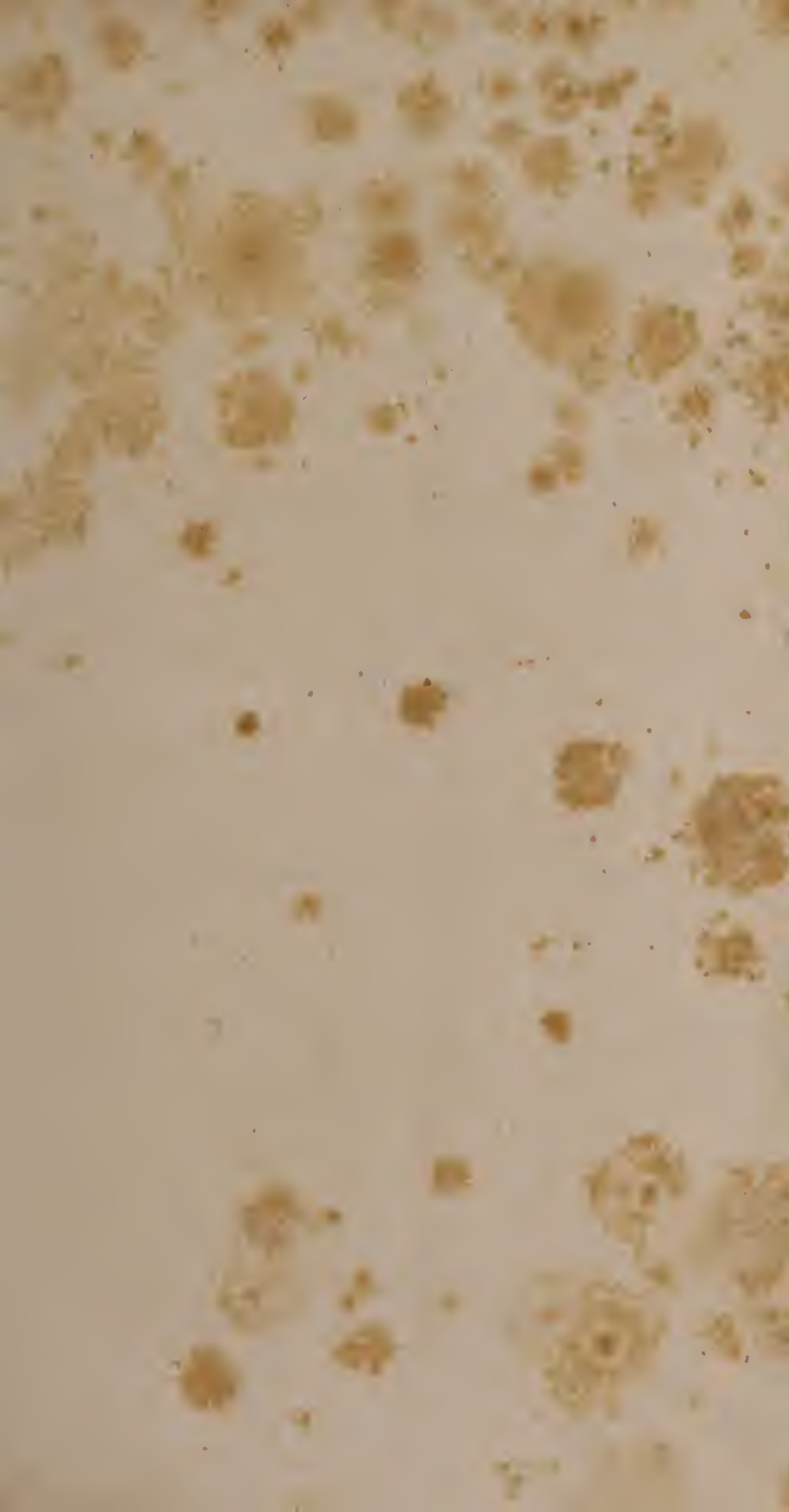
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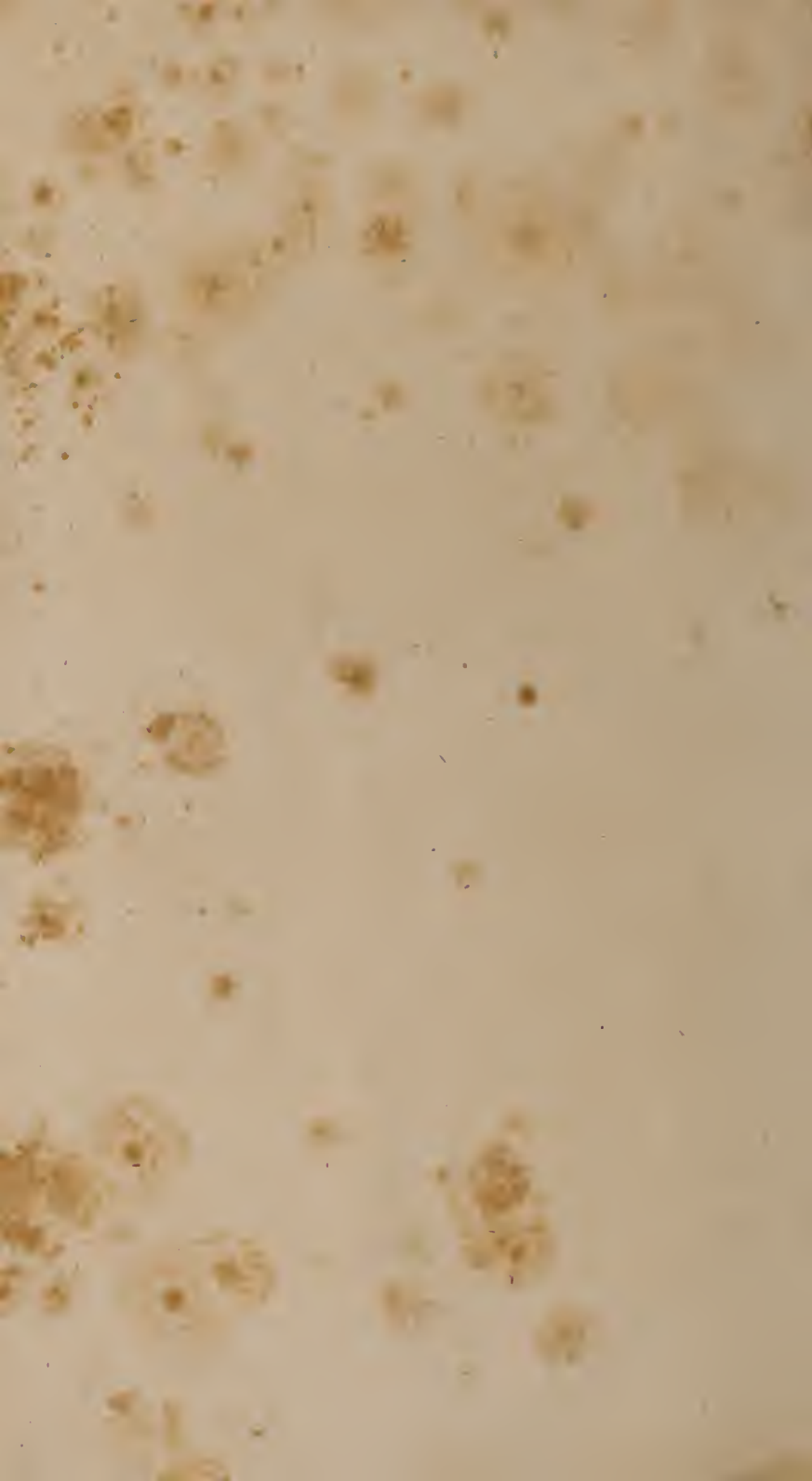
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THE
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AND

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VOL. IV.

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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
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VOL. IV.

JUNE, 1828.

No. 4.

Review

Of Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other parts of the Interior of Africa. By EDWARD BOWDICH, Esq., Conductor. London, 1819.

(CONTINUED FROM p. 72.)

AMONG all the great and beneficial consequences, which may be anticipated from the establishment of Christian Colonies on the African Coast, perhaps none is more cheering than the introduction of our holy religion, to supersede the absurd and relentless superstitions, to which the population of Africa has been so long subjected. For the honour of humanity, we should hope, that in no part of Africa were the superstitions more odious and cruel, than in Ashantee; but of the tribes far in the interior, we know comparatively little, and the information which has reached us, is certainly of no favourable character. We except in this remark the followers of Mahomet, who are known to occupy large territories, and who from the extent of their trade, and their intercourse with other nations, and perhaps, from the doctrines of their Prophet, have attained to a degree of elevation above the great mass of the negro tribes. But Mahomedanism though in

some respects less appalling in its effects, will, we believe, be displaced with more difficulty by the Gospel, than the revolting superstitions which inflict their curses upon the immense population, who know little or nothing of the Koran. The former is a written system, sustained by the power of a disciplined and crafty priesthood, teaching doctrines adapted to enlist in its behalf many of the deepest and strongest passions of the heart: the latter are vague and traditionary, poorly compensating for their terrors in this life, by any hopes of another; shadowy and unsubstantial, filling the imagination with horrors, but leaving the understanding in midnight darkness. How gratifying to think, that the disciples of our own pure faith have fixed their habitations upon the shores of Africa, that the influence of their principles and their example must rapidly extend itself into the interior; that from them shall go forth light and truth to make this moral wilderness like Eden, this desert like the garden of God.

The Ashantees may emphatically be said to be led captive by Satan at his will. Their worship (if such it can be called) is demoniacal, and their rites are celebrated with the blood of human victims. Indeed, when perusing the account of their religious ceremonies, no one, it would seem, could doubt the reality of satanic influence.

The Negro tradition of the Book and the Calabash cited by St. Pierre, (says Mr. Bowdich) is familiar to every native of these parts, and seems the source of their religious opinions.—The following is the Ashantee manner of relating it.

“In the beginning of the world, God created three white and three black men, with the same manner of women; he resolved, that they might not afterwards complain, to give them their choice of good and evil. A large box or calabash was set on the ground, with a piece of paper sealed up, on one side of it. God gave the black men the first choice, who took the box, expecting it contained every thing; but on opening it, there appeared only a piece of gold, a piece of iron, and several other metals, of which they did not know the use. The white men opening the paper, it told them every thing. God left the blacks in the bush, but conducted the whites to the water side, (for this happened in Africa) communicated with them every night, and taught them to build a small ship, which carried them to another country, whence they returned after a long period, with various merchandise to barter with the blacks, who might have been the superior people.

“With this imaginary alienation from the God of the Universe, not a shade

of despondency is associated; they consider that it diminishes their comforts and endowments on earth, but that futurity is a dull and torpid state to the majority of mankind."

The Ashantees believe in Fetishes or subordinate Deities, inhabiting particular rivers or mountains, and these are venerated in proportion to the actual fulfilment of their equivocal predictions. The favourite Fetish is at present the river Tando. The kings and higher classes are believed to dwell with the superior Deity after death, in a state resembling their condition on earth; hence, at the death of such, many of both sexes are sacrificed, that they may accompany the deceased and minister to their pleasures. The inferior classes are supposed to inhabit after death the houses of the Fetish, in a state of torpor and inactivity. Those who neglect the funeral rites of their family, are believed to be accursed by their spirits.

There are two orders of Fetishmen; the higher, who attend upon the Fetish and receive his oracles—the lower, who mingle in society, and are often consulted as fortunetellers and conjurers. There are domestic Fetishes in every family, answering to the Penates of the Romans. These receive offerings at the Yam Custom, but are not brought out of the house.

"The Ashantees have their Fasti and Nefasti; or lucky and unlucky days, as the Romans had."* When they drink, they spill a little of the liquor on the ground as an offering to the Fetish. But the influence which the Moors exert over these people and other tribes, is perhaps, the most surprising.

"The confidence of the Ashantees in the fetishes or saphies they purchase so extravagantly from the Moors, is such, that they believe firmly that they make them invulnerable and invincible in war, paralyse the hand of the enemy, shiver their weapons, divert the course of balls, and avert all evils but sickness, (which they can only assuage,) and natural death. The King gave to the King of Dagwumba, for the fetish or war-coat of Apokoo, the value of thirty slaves; for Odumata's, twenty; for Adoo Quamina's, thirteen; for Akimpon's, twelve; for Akimpontea's nine; and for those of greater captains in proportion. The generals being always in the rear of the army are pretty sure to escape, a circumstance much in favour of the Moors. A sheet of paper would support an inferior Moor in Coomassie for a month.†

* Ille et nefasto te posuit die. *Hor.* 12, 13.

† The saphies consist of pieces of paper upon which the Moors have written, and which they incase in leather, gold, or silver.

Several of the Ashantee captains offered seriously to let us fire at them.—The Ashantees believe that the constant prayers of the Moors, who have persuaded them that they converse with the Deity, invigorate themselves and waste the spirit and strength of their enemies.”

The Yam Custom (says Mr. Bowdich) is annual, just at the maturity of that vegetable, in the early part of September. “It is like the Saturnalia; neither theft, intrigue, nor assault are punishable during the continuance; but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to its passions. All the Caboceers are commanded to attend, and if any one has given offence, it is at this time that his accusation is generally made known. The show, riot, and confusion of this occasion, are thus described by Mr. Bowdich.

“On Friday the 5th of September, the number, splendour, and variety of arrivals, thronging from the different paths, was as astonishing as entertaining; but there was an alloy in the gratification, for the principal caboceers sacrificed a slave at each quarter of the town, on their entré.

“In the afternoon of Saturday, the King received all the caboceers and captains in the large area, where the Dankara canons are placed. The scene was marked with all the splendour of our own entré, and many additional novelties. The crush in the distance was awful and distressing. All the heads of the kings and caboceers whose kingdoms had been conquered, from Sai Tootoo to the present reign, with those of the chiefs who had been executed for subsequent revolts, were displayed by two parties of executioners, each upwards of a hundred, who passed in an impassioned dance, some with the most irresistible grimace, some with the most frightful gesture: they elashed their knives on the skulls, in which sprigs of thyme were inserted, to keep the spirits from troubling the King. I never felt so grateful for being born in a civilized country. Firing and drinking palm wine were the only divertissemens to the ceremony of the caboceers presenting themselves to the King; they were announced, and passed all round the circle, saluting every umbrella: their bands preceded; we reckoned above forty drums in that of the King of Dwabin. The effect of the splendour, the tumult, and the musketry, was afterwards heightened by torch light.—We left the ground at 10 o’clock; the umbrellas were crowded even in the distant streets, the town was covered like a large fair, the broken sounds of distant horns and drums filled up the momentary pauses of the firing which encircled us: the uproar continued until four in the morning, just before which the King retired.

“The next morning the King ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans, in various parts of the town; the crowd pressing around,

and drinking like hogs; freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, and trampling each other under foot, pushed head foremost into the pans, and spilling much more than they drank. In less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen, parties of four reeling and rolling under the weight of another, whom they affected to be carrying home; strings of women covered with red paint, hand in hand, falling down like rows of cards; the commonest mechanics and slaves furiously declaiming on state palavers; the most discordant music, the most obscene songs, children of both sexes prostrate in insensibility. All wore their handsomest cloths, which they trailed after them to a great length, in a drunken emulation of extravagance and dirtiness.

"About a hundred persons, mostly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed, in different quarters of the town, at this custom. Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within, (fresh and putrefied,) to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed and place it on the hole."*

There is another national custom called the Adaï, which commences on the first of October. "This is supposed by the common people to be marked by the falling of a fruit like a gourd, from a tree called Brebretim. They further pretend, that from the fruit of this tree spring various kinds of vegetables. The customs are alternately called the great and little Adaï, the former taking place always on Sunday, the latter on Wednesday; and it appeared, that there were six weeks between each great Adaï, and six between each little one; so that the custom was generally held every twenty-one days." The proceedings at these, appear to resemble in many respects, those of the Yam Custom.

* In Ahanta, at the Contoom or Harvest custom, each family erects its rude altar, composed of four sticks driven in the ground, and twigs laid across the top; the whole is then covered with fresh pulled leaves. A hog, a sheep, a goat, or a fowl is killed, according to the means of the family, and the most delicate parts laid on the altar; a mixture is made of eggs, palm oil, palm wine, the blood of the animal slain, and other ingredients, and also dedicated to the Fetish, in small pots placed on the altar. In a few days these altars become so offensive as to render it disagreeable to pass them, but they are never removed."

Mention has been made already of *human sacrifices*. These are frequent, but most numerous on the decease, and at the funerals of distinguished individuals. On the death of a person of wealth or rank, a discharge of musketry announces the fact, and "in an instant you see a crowd of slaves burst from the house and run towards the bush, flattering themselves that the hindmost, or those surprised in the house, will furnish the human victims for sacrifice, if they can but secrete themselves until the custom is over." As soon as the body is dressed out in silk and gold, one or two slaves are then sacrificed at the door of the house. Mr. Bowdich describes particularly what he witnessed at the decease of Quatchie Quofie's mother, whose funeral ceremonies he concludes, were less splendid and barbarous than common.

"The King, Quatchie Quofie, and Odumata, each sacrificed a young girl directly the deceased had breathed her last, that she might not want for attendants until the greater sacrifice was made. The retainers, adherents, and friends of the family then sent contributions of gold, powder, rum, and cloth, to be expended at the custom; the King, as heir, exceeding every quota but that of the nearest relative, who succeeded to the stool and slaves. The King also sent a sum of gold, and some rich cloths to be buried with the deceased, in the basket or coffin. I could not learn the various sums of gold dust with sufficient accuracy to note them, but the following were the quantities of powder presented on the occasion."

Here follows a statement of forty-four ounces of gold, or nearly twelve barrels; which were presented to different persons.

"We walked to Assafoo about twelve o'clock; the vultures were hovering around two headless trunks, scarcely cold. Several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred in each, were dancing by in movements resembling skating, lauding and bewailing the deceased in the most dismal, yet not discordant strains; audible, from the vast number, at a considerable distance. Other troops carried the rich cloths and silks of the deceased on their heads, in shining brass pans, twisted and stuffed into crosses, cones, globes, and a fanciful variety of shapes only to be imagined, and imposing at a small distance the appearance of rude deities. The faces, arms, and breasts of these women were profusely daubed with red earth, in horrid emulation of those who had succeeded in besmearing themselves with the blood of the victims. The crowd was overbearing; horns, drums, and muskets, yells, groans, and screeches invaded our hearing with as many horrors as were crowded on our sight. Now and then a victim was hurried by, generally dragged or

run along at full speed; the uncouth dress, and the exulting countenances of those who surrounded him, likening them to as many fiends. I observed apathy, more frequently than despair or emotion, in the looks of the victims. The chiefs and captains were arriving in all directions, announced by the firing of muskets, and the peculiar flourishes of their horns, many of which were by this time familiar to us; they were then habited plainly as warriors, and were soon lost to our sight in the crowd. As old Odumata passed in his hammock, he bade us observe him well when he passed again: this prepared us in a small degree. Presently the King's arrival in the market place was announced, the crowd rolled towards it impetuously, but the soldiery hacked on all sides indiscriminately, and formed a passage for the procession. Quatchie Quofie hurried by, plunging from side to side like a Bacchanal, drunk with the adulation of his bellowing supporters; his attitudes were responsive to the horror and barbarism of the exultations which inspired them. The victims, with large knives driven through their cheeks, eyed him with indifference; he them with a savage joy, bordering on phrenzy: insults were aggravated on the one, flattery lavished on the other. Our disgust was beguiled for an instant by surprise. The chiefs who had just before passed us in their swarthy cloths, and the dark gloomy habits of war, now followed Quatchie Quofie, glistening in all the splendor of their fetish dresses; the sprightly variety of their movements ill accorded with the ceremony. Old Odumata's vest was covered with fetish, cased invariably in gold or silver. A variety of extraordinary ornament and novel insignia, courted and reflected the sun in every direction. It was like a splendid pantomime after a Gothic tragedy.

"We followed to the market place. The King, and the chiefs not immediately connected with Quatchie Quofie, were seated under their canopies, with the usual insignia and retinue, and lined about the half of a circle, apparently half a mile in circumference; the soldiery completed it, their respective chiefs situated amongst them. Thirteen victims, surrounded by their executioners, whose black shaggy caps and vests gave them the appearance of bears rather than men, were pressed together by the crowd to the left of the King. The troops of women, before described, paraded without the circle, vociferating the dirge. Rum and palm wine were flowing copiously, horns and drums were exerted even to frenzy. In an instant there was a burst of musketry near the King, and it spread and continued incessantly, around the circle, for upwards of an hour. The soldiers kept their stations; but the chiefs, after firing, bounded once round the area with the gesture and extravagance of madmen; their panting followers enveloping them in flags, occasionally firing in all the attitudes of a scaramouch, and incessantly bellowing the strong names of their exulting chief, whose musket they snatched from his hands directly he had fired. An old hag, described as the head fetish woman of the family, screamed and plunged about in the midst of the fire as if in the greatest agonies. The greater the

chief the heavier the charge of powder he is allowed to fire; the heaviest charge recollected, was that fired by the King on the death of his sister, 18 aekies, or an ounce avoirdupoise. Their blunderbusses and long guns were almost all braeced closely with the cordage of the country; they were generally supported by their attendants whilst they fired, several did not appear to recover it for nearly a minute; Odumata's old frame seemed shaken almost to dissolution. Many made a point of collecting near us, just within the eirele, and firing as close as possible to startle us; the frequent bursting of their muskets made this rather alarming as well as disagreeable. The firing abated, they drank freely from the bowls of palm wine, religiously pouring a small quantity on the ground before they raised them to their lips.

"The principal females of the family, many of them very handsome, and of elegant figures, came forward to dance; dressed, generally, in yellow silk, with a silver knife hung by a chain round their necks; one with a gold, another with a silver horn; a few were dressed as fetish women; an umbrella was held over the grand daughter as she danced. The Ashantees dance incomparably better than the people of the water side, indeed elegantly; the sexes do not dance separately, as in Fantee, but the man encircles the woman with a piece of silk which he generally flirts in his right hand, supports her round the waist, receives her elbows in the palms of his hands, and a variety of figures approximating, with the time and movement, very closely to the waltz.

"A dash of sheep and rum was exchanged between the King and Quatchie Quofie, and the drums announced the sacrifice of the victims. All the chiefs first visited them in turn; I was not near enough to distinguish wherefore. The executioners wrangled and struggled for the office, and the indifference with which the first poor creature looked on, in the torture he was from the knife passed through his cheeks, was remarkable: the nearest executioner snatched the sword from the others, the right hand of the victim was then lopped off, he was thrown down, and his head was sawed rather than cut off; it was cruelly prolonged, I will not say wilfully.—Twelve more were dragged forward, but we forced our way through the crowd, and retired to our quarters. Other sacrifices, principally female, were made in the bush where the body was buried. It is usual to 'wet the grave' with the blood of a freeman of respectability. All the retainers of the family being present, and the heads of all the victims deposited in the bottom of the grave, several are unsuspectingly called on in a hurry to assist in placing the coffin or basket, and just as it rests on the heads or skulls, a slave from behind stuns one of these freemen by a violent blow, followed by a deep gash in the back part of the neck, and he is rolled in on the top of the body, and the grave instantly filled up. A sort of carnival, varied by firing, drinking, singing, and dancing, was kept up in Assafoo for several days; the chiefs generally visiting it every evening, or sending their lin-

guists with a dash of palm wine or rum to Quatchie Quofie; and I was given to understand, that, but for the approaching war and the necessary economy of powder, there would have been eight great customs, instead of one, for this woman; one weekly, the King himself firing at the last. The last day, all the females in any way connected with the family (who are not allowed to eat for three days after the death, though they may drink as much palm wine as they please,) paraded round the town, singing a compliment and thanks to all those who had assisted in making the custom.

“On the death of a King, all the Customs which have been made for the subjects who have died during his reign, must be simultaneously repeated by the families, (the human sacrifices as well as the carousals and pageantry) to amplify that for the monarch, which is also solemnised, independently, but at the same time, in every excess of extravagance and barbarity.—The brothers, sons, and nephews of the King, affecting temporary insanity, hurst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd; even a man of rank, if they meet him, is their victim; nor is their murder of him or any other, on such an occasion, visited or prevented; the scene can scarcely be imagined. Few persons of rank dare to stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but religiously drive forth all their vassals and slaves; as the most acceptable composition of their own absence. The King's Ocras, who will be mentioned presently, are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. I was assured by several, that the custom for Saï Quamina, was repeated weekly for three months, and that two hundred slaves were sacrificed, and twenty five barrels of powder fired each time. But the custom for the King's mother, the regent of the kingdom during the invasion of Fantee, is most celebrated. *The King of himself devoted 3000 victims*, (upwards of 2000 of whom were Fantee prisoners) and twenty-five barrels of powder* Dwabin, Kokoofoo, Becqua, Soota, and Marmpong, furnished one hundred victims, and twenty barrels of powder, each, and most of the smaller towns ten victims, and two barrels of powder, each. The Kings, and Kings only, are buried in the cemetery at Bantama, and the sacred gold buried with them; (see Laws;) their bones are afterwards deposited in a building there, opposite to which is the largest brass pan I ever saw, (for sacrifices,) being about five feet in diameter, with four small lions on the edge. Here human sacrifices are frequent and ordinary, to water the graves of the Kings: The bodies of chiefs are frequently carried about with the army, to keep them for interment at home, and eminent revolvers or enemies also, to be exposed in the capital. Boiteäm, (the father of Otee the fourth linguist,) who accompanied the army of Abiniowa in his political capacity, dying at

* “Suetonius tells us that Augustus sacrificed 300 of the principal citizens of Perusia, to the manes of his uncle Julius. We read in Prevost, that 64080 persons were sacrificed, with aggravated barbarity, in the dedication of a temple in Mexico.”

Akroffroom in Aquapim, during the campaign, his body was kept with the army two months before it arrived at Coomassie. I could not get any information on their treatment of the corpse, beyond their invariable reply that they smoked it well over a slow fire."

(To be continued.)



Theories respecting the Course and Termination of the Niger.

We have thought it might be interesting to our readers, to see some account of the various opinions which have been adopted, in reference to the course and termination of this mysterious river, and the statements upon which these theories have been founded. The following article is made up of extracts from the most valuable works on Africa.

The course and termination of this celebrated stream is now the most interesting problem which remains to be solved, not only in Africa, but in any other portion of the globe.

Herodotus,* more than twenty-two centuries ago, describes, from the information of the Africans, a great river of Africa, far removed to the south of the Great Desert, and abounding with crocodiles. That it flowed from *west to east*, dividing *Africa*, in like manner as the Danube does *Europe*.

Pliny also believed that the *Nile* came from the west; but he is far from identifying it with the *Niger*, which he describes as a distinct river. But we have at least his negative opinion respecting its western course; for he speaks of the *Bambotus* river as running into the western ocean; meaning to express by it either the Gambia or Senegal river, and not the Niger.†

Ptolemy is positive in describing the Niger as a separate stream from the Senegal and Gambia, which two rivers are designed by him under the names of *Daradus* and *Stachir*; and they are by no means ill expressed; falling into the sea on different sides of the *Arsinarium* promontory, or Cape Verd.‡ The Niger of Ptolemy is made to extend from west to east, over half the breadth of Africa, between the Atlantic ocean, and the course of the Nile.

* Euterpe, c. 32.

† Lib. v. c. 9.

These may suffice for the ancient authorities, which in very early times fixed the course of the Niger in the systems of geography, to be *from west to east*. [*Major Rennell.*]

Pliny, however, enters into much greater detail in that extraordinary passage, where he traces the origin of the Nile, and its various transformations.* First, he informs us, that it springs from a mountain in Lower Mauritania, and issues out of a stagnant Lake, called Nilis. Indignant, however, at flowing through rugged and sandy tracts, it hides itself under ground for several days, after which it issues anew from another lake in Mauritania Cæsariensis. Finding itself again among sands, it plunges a second time beneath them, and continues hid during the whole extent of a desert space of twenty days' journey. On reaching the country of the Ethiopians, it again emerges, and, as Ptolemy supposes, from the fountain Nigris; when, continuing to flow, it divides the Africans from the Ethiopians. In a subsequent part of its course, it assumes the name of Astapus, evidently the river of Nubia. In this succession of rivers, so fancifully united to form one Nile, it seems clear that the two first are streams of the Bled-el-Jereede; but in respect to the other, situated on the other side of an immense desert, and in the country of the Ethiopians, whom it separates from the Africans, there seem fair grounds for believing it to be the Niger itself. We then find Pliny to be the strenuous advocate for the ancient system, by which the Nile and the Niger were viewed merely as successive portions of the same great river.

Mela leans to the same opinion.† He describes very distinctly, to the south of Mauritania, the great desert, and beyond it the country of the Ethiopians. There rises the river Nuchul, on which he makes the striking remark, that, "while all others direct their course towards the ocean, this one flows towards the east, and the centre of the continent; and whither it goes is quite uncertain."

The next geographical system was that of the Arabians, in whose opinion, with regard to the course of this river, there is nothing dubious or equivocal. They all identify it with the

* Hist. Nat.

† Lib. iii. 9.

Nile, but only in its source and earliest course, borrowed apparently from Ptolemy. But they conceive that, at a particular point, this primary Nile separates into two branches, or Niles; of which one, the Nile of Egypt, flows northward through Nubia, and falls into the Mediterranean; the other, the Nile of the Negroes, takes its course westward, and traverses the vast range of central Africa. According to Abulfeda and Edrisi, the most eminent Arabian geographers, it continues to flow till it is received into the Atlantic, or "Sea of Darkness," as they term their supposed circumambient ocean.

Leo agrees with the Arabians in assigning a western course to the Niger, but he does not, like them, derive it from the Nile. It takes its rise, according to him, from a lake situated to the south of Bornou, probably the lake of Cauga, and thence flows westward, till it reaches the ocean. Leo, indeed, had heard it asserted, at Tombuctoo, that it rose in a mountain, flowed eastward, and fell into a lake; but this he asserts to be contradicted by his own actual observation of the navigation from Tombuctoo to Ginea (Jinnie).

The above observations of Leo entirely concurred with those which the Portuguese themselves had an opportunity of making.

The illustrious traveller, Park, finally ascertained, that the Niger was entirely distinct from any of the rivers which fell into the Atlantic; that it flowed eastward into the centre of the continent; and that to it belonged several hundred miles of the course which the best modern geographers had assigned to the Senegal. Upon these data, Major Rennell founded his theory of its course. It had been traced, indeed, by Park, only about 300 miles from its source; but concurrent testimonies, ancient and modern, established the existence of a continued stream, upwards of a thousand miles farther, to the extremity of Wangara. That country is described by the Arabian geographers as entirely surrounded and intersected by branches of the Niger, (Nile of the Negroes); as containing, at least, two lakes, and as entirely overflowed during the rainy season. Major Rennell, therefore, very plausibly inferred, that Wangara was the Delta of the Niger; that its waters, spread out by the separation of its branches, by inundation, and by the formation of lakes, might, under the burning rays of a tropical sun, be completely evaporated.

This view of the subject, supported by the learning and ingenuity of Major Rennel, became, for a long time, the orthodox creed with regard to Africa. M. Reichard, of Weimar, advanced another hypothesis; according to which, the stream passed through Wangara, and directing its course to the south-west, poured itself into the Gulf of Benin, by a succession of large estuaries, of which the mouths only are known to us.

The next hypothesis is that famous one by which the Niger is identified with the great stream which passes through the kingdom of Congo. The extraordinary magnitude of this last river, —the prodigious mass of waters which it pours into the ocean, whose waves it freshens to the distance of many leagues—its perpetual state of fullness, or rather flood, to which other tropical rivers are incident only during a few months of the year—the occurrence, at two seasons, instead of one, of a perceptible swelling of its waters—these circumstances are supposed to indicate a river, which not only drains a vast extent of country, but is fed by the rains of both the tropics. Both these conditions are fulfilled, by supposing it to be the hitherto unknown termination of the Niger.—[*Murray.*]

Mr. Murray, in the following extract, gives his own hypothesis.

The writer of this was led some time ago to form an hypothesis somewhat different from any of those above stated; and though his original confidence in it be somewhat abated, yet, as it may at least serve as a link to combine some curious notices relative to central Africa, he will venture on a short exposition of it.

Although the Niger, in Bambarra, carries with it to the east all the waters of central Africa, it cannot be doubted, that there is a tract on the other side of the continent, where these waters flow in an opposite direction. Without having recourse to ancient, or more doubtful authorities, we find Browne expressly stating, that all the rivers about and beyond Darfür, were reported to him as flowing to the west and north-west. Some, the Kulla for instance, are so delineated, that they could scarcely continue to flow in that direction without meeting the Niger.—That a junction therefore takes place, at some point, of rivers from opposite sides of the continent, can scarcely be doubted.

Whether these rivers terminate there, or direct their united streams into the ocean, is a separate question. According to the general opinion, this union takes place in Wangara. There is, however, a considerable weight of testimony which goes to prove, that much farther west, and in passing through the kingdom of Cassina, the direction of the stream is still *westward*.—Abulfeda, Edrisi, and all the Arabian writers, without a single exception, are well known to have described their Nile of the Negroes as flowing from *east to west*. Now, as Gana was the centre of their settlements, and the main channel of communication with Northern Africa, it appears very improbable that they should be misinformed as to how the matter stood *there*. Nor is it improbable that their knowledge might terminate with this westward-flowing river, and might never reach the stream visited by Park.

From these testimonies, it appeared a probable supposition, that the long line of river course to which Europeans have applied the Roman name of Niger, (a name not known in modern Africa,) consists, in fact, of two rivers, flowing, one from the east, and the other from the west, and falling into some common receptacle. It is objected, indeed, that no such receptacle has ever been reported to exist. But the tract between Cassina and Tombuctoo is so entirely unknown, that it might very well contain the feature in question, without such a report having reached Europeans. Moreover, it may be observed, that the most recent travellers actually report the existence of a great lake, or inland sea, in this quarter. Jackson particularly describes an immense lake called the Sea of Soudan, situated about fifteen days' journey to the east of Tombuctoo. Park also heard at Sansanding of a lake, called the Ba Sea Feena, incomparably larger than the Dibbie, at about a month's distance from that place; which would nearly agree with the measure of Jackson.*

[*From Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee.*]

Having reached the Niger, it is time to observe, that it is only

* His expressions are, "One month's journey south of Baedoo, through the kingdom of Gotto, will bring the traveller to the country of the Christians who have their houses on the banks of the Ba Sea Feena; this water

known to the Moors by the name of Quolla, pronounced Quorra by the negroes, who, from whatever countries they came, all spoke of this as the largest river they knew; and it was the grand feature in all routes whether from Haoussa, Bornou, or the intermediate countries,) to Ashantee. The Niger, after leaving the lake Dibbir, was invariably described as dividing in two large streams; the Quolla, the greater pursuing its course south-eastward, until it joined the Baher Abiad, and the other branch running northward of east, near Tombuctoo, and dividing again soon afterwards; the smaller stream running northwards by Yahooodee,* a place of great trade, and the larger turning directly eastward, and increasing considerably, running to the lake Caudi or Cadi, under the name of Gambaroo. The Moors call the branch running by Tombuctoo the Jolliba, I presume figuratively, as a great water; for I was assured by a native of Jennie, who had frequently visited Tombuctoo, that this branch was called Zahmer by the negroes. De Lisle, in his map of Africa, for the use of Louis XV, makes a branch from the Niger, running near Tombuctoo, and, what is even more to the point, writes "Gambarou ou Niger." Mr. Park, in his memoir to Lord Camden, writes, "the river of Dar Kulla, men-

"they describe as incomparably larger than the Dibbie, and that it flows "sometimes one way, and sometimes another."

To conceal nothing, I cannot help entertaining some suspicion that this report may have referred to the sea in the Gulf of Guinea, though it certainly was not so understood by Park. The southern direction, the coast of the Christians, the decked vessels, and the motion one way and another (tides), all tend to suggest this idea. To this may be added the etymology of the word *Ba Sea Feena*, which was obligingly furnished to me by Mr. Jackson, who states it to signify the "Sea of Ships." I even used the freedom to ask Mr. Jackson, if he considered it certain, that his Bahar Soudan might not also be the Gulf of Guinea? Mr. Jackson observed in reply, that the Gulf of Guinea was universally called by the Arabs, *El Bahar Ginawa*; that neither the distance nor direction agreed; and that the Arabs, who pray daily with their faces turned towards the east, can scarcely blunder as to this last point. He is also of opinion; that Park's *Ba Sea Feena* must be the same with the Sea of Soudan.

* The Moors particularly mentioned buying their writing paper there.

tioned by Mr. Brown, is generally supposed to be the Niger, or, at least, to have a communication with that river." The name and course of the Quolla suggested this to me, before I observed the above remark, which I did not until my return.

The Gambaroo seems to me to identify the Gir of Ptolemy,* carried by him into the centre of Africa, and which would appear as large as the Niger, by the expression "Maximi suet Gir et Nigir."

It was an inconsiderate observation of Mr. Maxwell's, "If the Niger has a sensible outlet, I have no doubt of its proving the Congo, knowing all the rivers between Cape Palmas and Cape Lopez, to be inadequate to the purpose." The Volta may be thought so, but the Lagos certainly cannot, nor the Danger or Gaboon; and surely the rivers del Rey and Formoso are not, which are thus noticed within a few pages of Mr. Maxwell's observation, by the judicious editor of Mr. Park's last mission. "The Rio del Rey and the Formoso are stated to be of considerable size, being each of them seven or eight miles at the mouth; and the supposed Delta, estimated by the line of coast, is much larger than that of the Ganges; consequently, the two streams, if united, must form a river of prodigious magnitude."

[*Idem.*]

In his sketch of Gaboon, Mr. Bowdich has many very interesting remarks on the Congo hypothesis. He submits the compilation of seven weeks' investigation and inquiry, under very advantageous circumstances. The result was, that he heard of a kingdom far in the interior, through which, the river Wola or Wole, flows and runs eastward. "My friend, the Governor," he observes, "impressed on me, that this was the largest river in the world, and ran, to use his own words, for aught he knew, farther than Indie; all the great rivers in this country come from Wole."

"The name, situation, magnitude, and course of the Wola,

* Illorum vero qui per interiorem Æthiopiam fluant, quique fontes et ostia in continente habent maximi sunt Gir et Nigir. (Lib. xxiii. 1. De maximis fluminibus.)

leave little doubt of its being the Kulla or Quolla. "With this, the Ogoowai, which enters the sea near Cape Lopez, forms a junction, or rather flows from it. At Adjoomla, no great distance from the coast, the Ogoowai is represented as dividing itself, and one arm running south to fall into the Congo, which, without it, would be an *inconsiderable stream*."—[*Idem.*]

[*Extract from Capt. Riley.*]

Sidi Hamet, whose report is given by Capt. Riley, travelled from Tombuctoo, a little south of east, when he came to a small town, called Bimbina, walled in with canes and thorn bushes; here the river turned more to the south-eastward, because there was a very high mountain in sight to the eastward. "We then went from the river side, and pursued our journey more southwardly, fifteen days, when we came to the same river again. Then we went onward again in about a south-east direction, winding as the river ran for three days, and then had to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, which took up six days, and when we were on the top of them, we could see a large chain of high mountains to the westward. Those were thickly covered with very large trees, and it was extremely difficult to get up and down them, but we could not go any other way, for the river ran against the steep side of the mountain; so having gotten over them, we came to the river's bank again, where it was very narrow and full of rocks, that dashed the water dreadfully, then finding a good path, we travelled the same way for 12 days, afterwards again 15 days, when we came to the walls of the city Wassanah," &c.—[*Riley's Narrative.*]

In Mandara, (latitude ten degrees north) Major Denham saw a man who said he had been twenty days south of Mandara, to a country called Adamowa; which he described as being situated in the centre of a plain, surrounded by mountains ten times higher than any we could see.—"This man spoke of several extensive lakes, which he had seen in his journey, and also described with great clearness a river running between two very high ridges of the mountains, which he crossed previous to arriving at Adamowa."

This river he declared to run from the west, and to be the same as the Quolla or Quana at Nyffe, Kora, and at Raka, but not the same as the river at Kano, which had nothing to do with the Shary, and which ran into the Tchad; but the main body of

the water ran on to the south of Begharmi, was then called the D'Ago, and went eastward to the Nile. Kaid-Moussa was a very intelligent fellow, had visited Nyffé, Raka, Waday, and Darfur; by which latter place also, he said this river passed.—He was most particularly clear in all his accounts, and his statement agreed in some points with the information a Shouaa named Dreess-boo-Raas-ben-aboo-Deleel had given me; therefore I was the more inclined to pay attention to it. To the south of this river, the population is entirely Kerdy, until the Great Desert. This desert is passed several times in the year by kafilas with white people, not Christians, who bring goods from the great sea: some of these reach Adamowa.

From Mahomad Gomsoo, Chief of the Arabs, at Sackatoo, (lat. $15^{\circ} 4' 52''$ N., and long $6^{\circ} 12' E.$) Captain Clapperton received the following account. This man, if we are to credit his own statement, was at Tombuctoo when Park was murdered.

I learned, besides, from Gomsoo, that he had been detained a prisoner three years, in a country called Yoriba, on the west side of the Quarra; which, he said, entered the sea at Fúndah, a little below the town of Rakah. The latter is opposite to Nyffé; is a place of great trade between the interior and the coast, and all kinds of European goods, such as beads, woollen and cotton cloth, pewter and copper dishes, gunpowder, rum, &c., are to be had there in exchange for slaves. The inhabitants of Yoriba he represented to be extremely ill disposed. I may here mention, that during my stay in Sackatoo, provisions were regularly sent me from the sultan's table on pewter dishes, with the London stamp; and one day I even had a piece of meat served up in a white wash-hand basin, of English manufacture.

Bello, also sultan of Sackatoo, drew on the sand the course of the river Quarra, which he also informed me entered the sea at Fundah. By his account the river ran parallel to the sea coast for several days' journey, being in some places only a few hours', in others a day's journey, distant from it. Two or three years ago the sea, he said, closed up the mouth of the river, and its mouth was at present a day or two farther south; but, during the rains, when the river was high, it still ran into the sea by the old channel. He asked me if the King of England would send him

a consul and a physician, to reside in Soudan, and merchants to trade with his people; and what I had seen among them, which I thought the English would buy? Here again I enforced the discontinuance of the slave trade on the coast, as the only effectual method of inducing the King of England to establish a consul and a physician at Sackatoo; and that, as the sultan could easily prevent all slaves from the eastward passing through Haussa and Nyffée, it would be the consul's duty to see that engagement faithfully fulfilled. With respect to what English merchants were disposed to buy, I particularized senna, gum arabic, bees' wax, untanned hides, indigo, and ivory. I also endeavoured to impress on his mind that Soudan was the country best situate in all Central Africa for such a trade, which would not only be the means of enriching himself, but, likewise, all his subjects; and that all the merchandise from the east and from the west would be conveyed through his territories to the sea. "I will give the King of England," says he, "a place on the coast to build a town: only I wish a road to be cut to Rakah,* if vessels should not be able to navigate the river." I asked him if the country he promised to give belonged to him? "Yes:" said he, "God has given me all the land of the infidels." This was an answer that admitted of no contradiction.

The author of a Review of Denham and Clapperton, for our work, (vol. 2d, page 319,) observes, "From what we have been able to collect, we should conjecture, that the Niger must either discharge into the Ocean at the Bight of Benin, or through the wide mouth of the Congo, or into the Tchad, from the south, under the name of the Shary. That immense inland sea, has, probably, no outlet, unless it be during the rainy season, when it overflows; and if it have one, it must be at its western end, where, as Denham, who had examined its other shores, was told, there is the dry but elevated bed of a river. In those countries, where evaporation is so great, the sands so arid and thirsty, and the season so long in which there falls no rain, many of the rivers which are impetuous and full in winter, are perfectly dry

* On the map of Denham and Clapperton, Rakah is represented as in lat. N. about 9°, and long. E. 5°.

at other times. Clapperton looked from an eminence for several miles along the dry bed of one, which was two hundred yards wide, and whose banks were thirty or forty feet high. This waste of waters will account for the smallness of the Shary, if we suppose that river to be the Niger. At its mouth it is about half a mile wide, deep, and flowing with a rapid current, even in the dry season; and discharges as great a body of water, perhaps, as the Niger could have preserved, during its long course of 2000 miles, from the absorption and evaporation to which it would be subjected."



An Address to the Public,

By the Managers of the Colonization Society of Connecticut.

The Managers of this Society, at their recent Anniversary, submitted in place of their first Annual Report, this able Address, which we understand has been widely circulated in that state, and which, we sincerely wish, may be republished in every state of the Union. The spirit of liberality and candour, and the convincing argument and eloquence which pervade it throughout, must recommend it to the notice of all those whose good opinion merits regard. But we proceed, without further preface, to offer to our readers, liberal extracts from this Address.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

In behalf of the Colonization Society of the State of Connecticut, we beg leave to address you on a subject intimately connected with the honour and the dearest interests of our common country, and identified with the great cause of human happiness.

You are often called upon to lend your influence to schemes of patriotic enterprise and Christian benevolence. The elastic spirit of our age has long been busy here, and has been moving you to effort. You have founded and are sustaining noble institutions of education. You have engaged in the work of sending the Scriptures into every family. You have long been contributing to impart the means of instruction to the ignorant and destitute. You have not held back from the enterprise of giving to Pagan tribes the blessed influences of the Gospel. The spirit which has prompted you to effort aims at doing good to all within its reach;—it finds none

too degraded for its beneficence, none too distant for its sympathy. It seeks to perpetuate and to brighten that bright legacy of character and of privileges which has come down to us from sainted ancestors. It seeks to scatter every where the seeds of social improvement and of spiritual life. It seems to forget none of the children of degradation, or of intellectual and moral want. To the Pagan and the Mahomedan—to the degraded and abject in our cities—to the inmates of the manufactories rising along the streams of our New England—to the settler on the prairies of the far Southwest—to the boatmen of our mighty rivers—to the sailor on the ocean—and even to the pauper, and the convict, and the drunkard—it is directing its efforts.

But there is one large class among the inhabitants of this country—degraded and miserable—whom none of the efforts in which you are accustomed to engage, can materially benefit. Among the twelve millions who make up our census, two millions are Africans—separated from the possessors of the soil by birth, by the brand of indelible ignominy, by prejudices mutual, deep, incurable, by an irreconcilable diversity of interests. They are aliens and outcasts;—they are, as a body, degraded beneath the influence of nearly all the motives which prompt other men to enterprise, and almost below the sphere of virtuous affections. Whatever may be attempted for the general improvement of society, their wants are untouched.—Whatever may be effected for elevating the mass of the nation in the scale of happiness or of intellectual and moral character, their degradation is the same—dark, and deep, and hopeless. Benevolence seems to overlook them, or struggles for their benefit in vain. Patriotism forgets them, or remembers them only with shame for what has been, and with dire forebodings, of what is yet to come.

And of these two millions, the great majority are slaves. In a country proud of its freedom, and whose institutions breathe the spirit of universal liberty, one-sixth of the entire population are the subjects of a hereditary and hopeless bondage. If the political institutions of our country were based on the principle of arbitrary power and hereditary distinctions, if the privileges of freemen were less widely bestowed or less valued, the existence of personal slavery to this extent would hardly be out of place,—it would be in harmony with the national institutions and with the national spirit, and would be attended with little danger. But as it is, the slavery which exists in these States, is a deadly and cancerous sore upon the vitals of the commonwealth;—it must be eradicated or the nation dies.

The Society then proceeds to state some of the principles in which the “patriotic, prudent, and Christian,” of almost every religious denomination, and from every quarter of the country, united at the origin of the Society.

1. It is taken for granted that *in present circumstances, any effort to produce a general and thorough amelioration in the character and condition of the free people of colour must be to a great extent fruitless.* In every part of the United States there is a broad and impassible line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself can subdue—mark the people of colour, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable. The African in this country belongs by birth to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he can never rise, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues, what they may. In consequence of this, it is that they are and what they are. The wonder is that in such circumstances, they are not far worse. And so long as they continue in these circumstances, they must be deeply and incurably degraded. We have only to compute the extent, the variety, the power of the motives which are brought to bear upon the mind of every man who is truly a freeman, and at the same time recollect how few of these motives speak to the mind of the black man, bond or free; and we see that the coloured population of this country thus degraded by circumstances and degraded in public estimation, must be, as a mass, degraded in spirit, degraded in all their habits, degraded by ignorance, and indolence, and want of thrift, and degraded by vice. What motive has the black man to cultivate his mind. Educate him, and you have added little or nothing to his happiness—you have unfitted him for the society and sympathies of his degraded kindred, and yet you have not procured for him, and cannot procure for him, any admission into the society and sympathy of white men. What motive has the black man to be industrious? He can supply all his physical wants without industry; and beyond the supply of his immediate physical wants, he has little inducement to look. Would you set before him the prospect of wealth as a motive to industrious enterprise? But of what value is wealth to him? Wealth can secure a sort of respectability for the ignorant and rude, and even for the vicious; it can half atone for crimes against the happiness of society; but it can do nothing for the black man. Would you urge him to frugality and diligence by the prospect of making provision for his children? But if neither education nor property can do any thing for him, education and property can do as little for his children after him. Would you set before him the importance of a good character? But of how much value is character to him who stands now, and must always stand in the lowest order of society? It is this degradation of the condition of our free coloured population which ensures their degradation of character, and their degradation of character reacts to make their condition still more degraded. They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which, none can be depressed. And this is the difficul-

ty, the invariable and insuperable difficulty in the way of every scheme for their benefit. Much can be done for them—much has been done; but still they are, and, in this country, always must be a depressed and abject race.

2. Another principle, in which the friends of the Colonization Society have been united from the beginning is, that *the improvement and ultimate abolition of slavery must be brought about by a moral influence only, and must be done by the people of the slave-holding states themselves, of their own will.* There is indeed another way in which slavery may, at some time or other, be abolished—a mode of abolition, at the thought of which, the heart sickens, and the imagination revolts in horror; but that is the very catastrophe which the promoters of this undertaking were anxiously aiming to avert.—But how, in this country, *can* slavery be abolished, if not by violence and insurrection? By Legislation? The strong hand of an Imperial Parliament is indeed introducing the reform of slavery and preparing its gradual suppression in the British Colonies; but the circumstances of the slave-holding States in this confederacy, preclude the thought of any such interference here. The Legislatures of the States where slavery does not exist, have no more to do with the laws and social institutions of the States where it does exist, than they have to do with the military and ecclesiastical establishments of the European kingdoms. The National Government has no control over the subject, for the right of the slave-holder to his property is guaranteed by the very compact on which the National Government rests for its existence. The Legislature of each slave-holding State can Legislate only for its own constituents. Those Legislatures are only the servants of the people; and when the people of those States demand the abolition of slavery, then slavery will be abolished, and not till then.

3. A third point in which the first promoters of this object were united, is, that *few individual slave-holders can, in the present state of things, emancipate their slaves if they would.* There is a certain relation between the proprietor of slaves and the beings thus thrown upon him, which is far more complicated, and far less easily dissolved than a mind unacquainted with the subject is ready to imagine. The relation is one which, where it exists, grows out of the very structure of society, and for the existence of which, the master is ordinarily as little accountable as the slave. It is a relation, like the relation of parent and child, or master and apprentice, involving reciprocal duties—on the one hand protection and support, and on the other hand obedience. It is an arbitrary relation in that it does not result from the necessary condition of human nature, but rather from an artificial and unnatural organization of society; and yet it is not arbitrary in any sense which implies that it depends for its existence, or its continuance, on the consent of the parties. You may go to a slave-holder, and propose to him to emancipate his slaves. You may set before him all the evils of slavery in the most vivid colours. You may make him feel those evils as strongly as you feel them. But what shall he do? Perhaps the laws of

the State forbid emancipation as an act which goes only to swell the amount of pauperism, and wretchedness, and crime. But supposing there is no legal obstacle in the way, what shall he do? Here are a hundred human beings dependent on him for protection, and support, and government, and he, on the other hand, is dependent on their services for the means of supporting himself and them. This relation he did not voluntarily assume; he was born the proprietor of these slaves, just as really as he was born the subject of civil government. It is his duty, a duty which he cannot avoid, to make the best provision in his power for their sustenance and comfort. It is proposed to him to emancipate them. He looks around him and sees that the condition of the great mass of emancipated Africans is one in comparison with which the condition of his slaves is enviable;—and he is convinced that if he withdraws from his slaves, his authority, his support, his protection, and leaves them to shift for themselves, he turns them out to be vagabonds, and paupers, and felons, and to find in the work-house and the penitentiary, the home which they ought to have retained on his paternal acres. This is no unreal case. There may be slaves—there are slaves by thousands and tens of thousands—whose condition is that of the most abject distress; but these are the slaves of masters whose whole conduct is a constant violation of duty, and with whom the suggestion of giving freedom to their slaves would not be harboured for a moment. The case which we have supposed, is the case of a master really desirous to benefit his slaves. Hundreds of humane and Christian slave-holders retain their fellow-men in bondage, because they are convinced that they can do no better.

The simple object of the American Colonization Society is to plant Colonies of free blacks from the United States upon the coast of Africa. This object they have been pursuing for eleven years, and they are now more fully convinced than ever that the accomplishment of this object will be attended with the best results, both as it respects the improvement of the character and condition of the free blacks, and as respects the gradual and safe abolition of slavery.

What such Colonies are to do for the free blacks, it is not difficult to understand. Here the black man is degraded. You may call him free, you may protect his rights by legislation, you may invoke the spirit of humanity and of Christian benevolence to bless him, but still he is degraded. A thousand malignant influences around him are conspiring to wither all that is manly and noble in his nature. But in Africa he becomes a member of a community in which he is not only free but equal. There he stands up to be a man. There he has a home for himself, and for his children after him. There, as he looks about him on a soil of unrivalled and almost incredible fertility, on the dark forest already beginning to fall at the approach of civilization, on the varieties of mountain, and valley, and stream, already known by names dear to freedom and benevolence, on all the mag-

nificence and luxuriance of that tropical land, he can feel that there is his home, the land of his fathers, the refuge of the exile, and that there his children through succeeding ages shall enjoy a rich and noble inheritance. There he finds himself moved to industrious and honourable, and virtuous enterprise, by all the motives that inspire and quicken the freemen of our own New England. Every man of colour who removes from the United States to our African Colonies, removes from a land of degradation, from a land where his soul is crushed and withered by the constant sense of inferiority, to a land where he may enjoy all the attributes of manhood and all the happiness of freedom.

The successful establishment of these colonies will not only bless the colonists themselves, but will react to elevate the standing of those who remain behind. From beyond the Atlantic there will come a light to beam upon the degradation of the negro. Let it be known among the coloured population of this country what Africa is, and what advantages it offers to the emigrant; and soon the selfsame spirit which now lands thousands of suffering Irishmen every year upon our shores, will be yearly landing thousands of our free blacks upon the shores of Africa.

What effect the execution of this scheme is to have on the progressive abolition of slavery in our country, may be easily shown.

1. In the first place, *it will give to many benevolent masters an opportunity for the safe and happy emancipation of their slaves.* This scheme solves the dilemma in which many a humane and Christian slave-holder has found himself. It shows him how he can free his slaves, and at the same time free himself from the responsibility of holding them in bondage, and at the same time secure the permanent improvement of their condition. Already has many a benevolent holder of slaves availed himself of the opening which is thus presented. In the State of North Carolina the entire community of Quakers have emancipated their slaves, and by their own contributions have provided for their emigration to more favourable climes.

2. In the second place, the prosecution of this scheme *will excite discussion and will fix public attention on this great national interest.* Attention, discussion is what this subject needs. We need attention and discussion—not declamation aiming at no good result—not the invectives of heated politicians—but calm, serious, kind investigation, leading the nation to estimate the extent and nature of the evil more exactly, and seeking out the remedies by which it may be alleviated and subdued. To this result the scheme is even now most obviously tending. What has already been done in the way of freeing and transporting slaves, has sent a thrill through the hearts of thousands. And every new example of this kind, as it awakens new applause will act on public opinion with a wider and more powerful influence. Good men and patriotic men in the slave-holding States will be led to examine the subject anew; they will see it in new relations, they will

regard it with new emotions. Thus the public mind will be gradually enlightened, and public opinion will be renovated.

But let this enterprise be successfully pursued, and a few years hence, the fertile soil of Africa will be cultivated by the hands of freemen. Then there will be no monopoly on which slavery can be sustained; and the universal abolition of slavery will be not far distant. Then it will fall, not by violence, not by sudden commotion, but by the power of public opinion, convinced that it is a burthen too heavy to be sustained, and calling on the wisdom and the power of legislation to effect the gradual and safe, but sure removal of the curse.

But here we would remark, that such a result would, instead of proving injurious, be the greatest of all possible benefits to our southern country. A state of things like the present, cannot, permanently, be consistent with the most important interests of any class of society. The removal then of the evil alluded to, every patriot must desire, if such removal can be providentially effected without any violation of private right, or public law.

To what remains of this admirable address, we particularly invite the attention of our friends.

There are other results connected with the success of our enterprise to which we might call your attention. We might tell of the slave trade still raging with unabated horror, save where its suppression has been effected by the Colonies of Liberia and Sierra Leone. We might tell you of a continent covered with barbarism, and on which no light of civilization or of Christianity has ever shined. But it is enough to name such considerations as these. We need not surpass the limits of this appeal to show in detail how the prosecution of our enterprise will put a speedy and perpetual end to all those horrors which have so long roused the indignation of the world in vain. Nor need we tell how from our Colonies the light will spread, like the morning on the mountain, when summit after summit, and valley after valley catches the sunbeam. Your thoughts glance forward to the time when Africa, so long darkened, and defiled, and wretched, shall be redeemed from its miseries and washed from its pollutions, and shall be filled with the light and blessing of the gospel.

In this enterprise, friends and fellow-citizens, you are invited to co-operate. And it is urged upon your notice, not as a newly projected scheme of gigantic yet uncertain results, but as a scheme already tried, and at this hour in successful operation. It is now eleven years since the experiment was undertaken. Then every thing was uncertain. It was uncertain how many would be found to favour the undertaking in its infancy. It was un-

certain whether a suitable territory could be purchased. It was uncertain whether a sufficient number of Colonists could be found willing and qualified to make a beginning. It was uncertain whether savage tribes, or the combined power of the slave traders ever hovering over that devoted coast, or the diseases of that burning climate, might not sweep away the settlers at the outset and utterly defeat the enterprise. Then there were few who had that prophetic scope of judgment, or that deep and inspiring enthusiasm of benevolence, which could endure such disheartening anticipations as seemed inseparable from the project. Then it was no wonder that the people of New England, knowing little of the nature, and feeling nothing of the direct pressure of that flood of evils for which an outlet was to be provided, looked on the scheme with comparative apathy and incredulity.—But the time for apathy or incredulity, the time for doubt and backwardness, is past.

During the first five years there was little to encourage the promoters of this object, and much to create despondency. From the inexperience of their Agents in Africa, from the treachery of native proprietors with whom they were compelled to negotiate for territory, from the diseases of the country, and from the assaults of savage enemies, they suffered multiplied calamities. And at home there were obstacles hardly less discouraging.—By some whose favour they had anticipated with confidence, the entire project was scouted as chimerical. By others every appeal of theirs was received with indifference. By others their motives were misunderstood, and their expectations misconstrued. The friends of abolition opposed them because they did not go far enough, and charged them with a design to perpetuate the evils which they hoped to remedy. The friends of slavery hated them because they went too far, and charged them with a rashness of philanthropy that was to be the ruin of their country. But for the past six years a kind Providence has been pleased to smile on the undertaking. The Society is now in possession of a Territory extending one hundred and fifty miles on the sea coast. The Colony consists of more than twelve hundred souls. It is defended by fortifications sufficient to repel any probable attack. It is under the immediate direction of a man,* who, by six years of arduous and successful effort, has given the most abundant proof of his competency for the work, and of his devotion to the noble enterprise. It is enjoying all the blessings of a government republican in spirit, well regulated, and wisely administered. It has under its jurisdiction eight several stations, by means of which, it maintains an extensive commerce with the natives. Its principal town, which bears the venerated name of the late Chief Magistrate of this nation, is a thriving commercial village, whose port is “rarely clear of European and American shipping.” The institutions of religion are planted there; houses are erected for the

* J. Ashmun, Esq.

worship of the Living God; and on the bold promontory of Monrovia, the white spire, pointing to the heavens, stands a beautiful monument of the triumph of the gospel in that land of blood and darkness. Every child in the Colony enjoys the advantages of schools, for the support of which the settlers in addition to what the Society has done, contribute by voluntary subscription eleven hundred dollars annually. Not only are the institutions of religion and education enjoyed, but their influence is seen in the order, peace, industry, contentment and happiness of the community. The light of civilization and religion is gradually spreading among the savage tribes of the vicinity. Missionaries from the Baptist churches of this country, have for years been stationed at the Colony. Others from the Protestant Episcopal Society, and from the American Board of Foreign Missions, have been appointed to that work and are soon to embark. And even the Lutheran church of Germany and Switzerland has directed its evangelical efforts to Liberia, as affording the best means of access to heathen Africa; and intelligence has just been received that two missionaries well qualified and amply furnished for their work, have already arrived, as pioneers of a much larger force expected soon to follow. In a word, a civilized Christian Colony—the germ of a nation—has been planted on the coast of Africa, and is already diffusing light through its benighted regions.

Such success gives palpable demonstration that the scheme is something more than a chimera. The consequence is that the undertaking is daily exciting more and more attention, is becoming better understood, and is enlisting in greater numbers warm and devoted friends. It is awaking a deep and earnest interest throughout our land; and, especially in the slaveholding States it is fixing public attention and eliciting inquiry and discussion on that great national interest, the remedy and ultimate removal of the evils connected with the condition of our coloured population. Already has it been agitated, and soon will it be thoroughly discussed in the halls of our national legislature.

The Colonization Society of the State of Connecticut, in behalf of which we now address you, was organized in the hope of concentrating and heightening that interest in this noble undertaking which is known to exist among the people of this State. A year has just elapsed since the formation of the Society was announced to the public. The managers had hoped by the employment of some competent agent, to bring the subject in detail before the minds of their fellow-citizens. That hope has been hitherto disappointed, but is not yet finally relinquished. Meanwhile we bring before you, for your candid consideration, the summary statements contained in this address. And as our Treasurer's account for the last year shows that without a word of solicitation, and without any direct effort on our part, two hundred dollars have been thrown into the treasury, we are the more encouraged to hope that this appeal to your patriotism and your Christian feeling will not be made in vain.

We ask you to bestow on this subject a fair and thorough investigation. And that you may know fully what has been accomplished, and what is now going on, we beg leave to commend to your special notice the publications of the National Society. We are bold to say that no man whose mind is open to conviction, can read the Annual Reports and the Monthly Magazine of that Society—so full of the most striking and unanswerable facts—without becoming interested even to enthusiasm.

We ask you to use your influence towards forming in this community a correct and vigorous and active public opinion respecting the claims of Africa. We ask you to use your influence in your several spheres, towards rousing inquiry and diffusing information on this great subject. Who that understands the merits of this enterprise may not in this way lend it an efficient patronage? Who may not in this way contribute something towards forming that strong current of public opinion which will by and by direct the application of the *national* resources for the fulfilment of this national design?

We ask your contributions. A subscriber of thirty dollars at one time becomes a member for life of the National Society. The payment of ten dollars at one time, or of one dollar annually, is the condition of membership in this auxiliary. How many men are there in Connecticut who might, without material inconvenience to themselves, and without subtracting any thing from their ordinary charities, constitute themselves life members of the parent institution! How many more who might with equal ease become either annual or life subscribers to the Connecticut Society! How many ministers of every denomination might be constituted members of the National or State Society, by the benefactions of their people! In which of our towns or villages might not the exertions of a few spirited individuals secure a public contribution to this great national object, on the anniversary of our independence? There are in this State one hundred and twenty-nine incorporated towns. If the average amount of only thirty dollars could be raised annually among the citizens of each of these towns, it would send nearly four thousand dollars every year to diminish the yearly increasing pressure of the greatest curse which rests upon this nation, and to build up the institutions of freedom, and intelligence, and piety, on a continent over which darkness and misery have brooded for uncounted generations.

We trust that this appeal, brief and imperfect as it is, will not be in vain. For we address a community famed for its intelligence, and controlled by feelings of unquestionable benevolence. We bring before you one of the most momentous interests of the country which we all love. We bring before you the wants of two millions of fellow-men, existing on our native soil, and yet not fellow-citizens—two millions of the human population of this country degraded to the dust, notwithstanding the boasted institutions of our freedom. We bring before you the horrors of the yet unabolished slave-trade,

and the misery of 50 millions of the pagan inhabitants of Africa. We bring before you the claims of a little Christian settlement just planted on a barbarous shore, at the expense of toil and suffering almost incredible, and by a patient and persevering fortitude which honours human nature. Such interests, such wants and claims as these, you are not wont to treat with apathy. We pray you to remember these things. As you look round on your hills resounding with the song of the husbandman, your cities filled with the fruits of enterprise and industry, your homes of peace and purity, your churches, your schools, your thousand noble institutions; forget not, we pray you, the poor African in the midst of us, the slave or the freeman scarcely happier than the slave, surrounded by all these blessings, yet having no inheritance in them; and forget not the misery of that land whose coast has been half depopulated by the cruelties of Christian and American slave-traders, and whose tribes are sunk under the complicated wretchedness of barbarism and superstition and endless savage warfare. And especially on the return of our national festival, when its thousand notes of gratulation are pealing on your ears, and you think how many millions of your fellow-citizens are shouting their joy, or bowing with grateful devotion at the altars of their God,—then, as you look backward to the insignificant beginnings of this empire and forward to the great results which time is now so rapidly revealing, we pray you to remember that three thousand miles away, upon the coast of Africa, that day is celebrated by a colony of freemen with a joy as deep and rational as yours; and then under the influence of such associations determine what *you* will do to alleviate the evils which a degraded coloured population of two millions is inflicting on our country, and to spread our language, our institutions, our freedom, our religion, over another continent.



Resolutions of the General Conference

Of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—May, 1828.

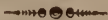
1st. That this Conference highly approve of the objects proposed, and the measures taken by the American Colonization Society, in reference to the colonization of the free people of colour on the coast of Africa.

2nd. That this Conference look to the settlement at Liberia, as opening a door for the diffusion of all the benign influences of the Gospel over the continent of Africa; and therefore recommend it to our Ministers and membership, to aid by their exertions and influence in the formation and support of Auxiliary

Societies, and the making annual collections to aid in carrying into effect the benevolent designs of the Parent Institution.

3d. That the Secretary be, and he is hereby instructed, to communicate the foregoing resolutions to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.

We rejoice in the adoption of the preceding Resolutions. No body of Christians probably do more for our cause than the Methodists; and from the energy with which they are wont to execute their purposes, we may expect much from their exertions in aid of our enterprise.



From Liberia.

By the Brig Hope, Capt. Woodbury, of Boston, despatches have reached us from the Vice-Agent of the Colony, the Rev. Lott Cary, bearing date the 7th of May. The following items are extracted from this communication.

There have been no very important changes either in the state or face of the Colony since Mr. Ashmun left, except by the rapid progress of the farming establishments at the "Half-way Farms," Caldwell and Millsburg. As I visited all those establishments during Friday and Saturday, the 2nd and 3d of May, I am happy to say, that the prospect for crops the present season is tenfold, and that I think these settlements will be beyond the reach of suffering, before the close of the present season.

About six of the families that commenced at Millsburg very late in March are nearly housed, and some of them have two acres at least of land in order for planting.

I have judged it best to help them a little in getting their houses erected, and in planting, and to furnish them with seeds and tools which they had not; and as soon as their farms are planted, it is my intention to stop altogether issuing rations to all who are able to earn wages or subsist themselves, and only feed the poor women and children, in a way, if possible, to get them safe through the rainy season, before which time, I trust his honour, Mr. Ashmun, will return. As to the new settlers in Caldwell, I have found it necessary to do rather more than for those at Millsburg, as the latter have lands more easy to clear, and the timber for erecting their houses is more convenient. There are several families, which have made astonishing progress. Those sent out by Col. B. in particular have cleared land sufficient, if they can possibly succeed in getting it planted, to render their families entirely comfortable by the close of the ensuing season; and I trust, with the

little help that I am now giving them, that they will be comfortably housed on their own lands in two or three weeks.

I must just beg leave to mention to the Board, that from information which has been received from Jacob Warner, who has very recently returned from the Sesters, a very important section of the country is offered to the authorities of the Colony, which from Mr. Warner's account, would connect our Sesters and Bassa Lands together, and in time give the whole command of that line of coast, which is at present one of the principal rendezvous of slave vessels, which so enormously intercept and interrupt the progress of our factories, that the establishment of the Sesters is obliged to be given over at present. From the many descriptors which have attended that enterprise, Mr. Warner has relinquished the idea of prosecuting it farther at present.

The slave trade in that neighbourhood prevails to an alarming extent, and I think from frequent information, that it is increasing very considerably in our neighbouring ports.

I am happy to inform the Board, that the whole settlement of Monrovia is resolved into a Sunday School Society, therefore our Sabbaths are strictly observed; also at Caldwell, they have made a beginning to the same amount.

Contributions

To the A. Colonization Society, from 1st to 30th June, 1828.

By a few young friends in Fredericksburg, Va.,	\$ 16 36
By Seth Terry, Esq., Treasurer Colonization Society Connecticut, (including \$30, paid by Mrs. Parmelie, a donation from sundry individuals in Bolton, to make Rev. L. Hyde, their Pastor, a life member of the American Colonization Society,)	200
By B. Brand, Esq., Tr. Richmond and Manchester Col. Soc'y.,	55 25
By Richard Potts, Esq., Fredericktown, Md.,	41 50
By John Pilson, Albermarle, Va.,	2
Annual donation from a Member,	1
Repository,	25 33
Rev. R. Henry, Agent Pennsylvania,	20
Collection in St. John's Church, Washington, Rev. William Haw- ly, 29th June,	13 32
Collection in Christ Ch., Washington, Rev. Mr. Allen, 29th June,	8 97

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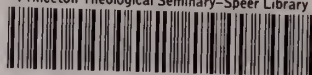


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